

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01  
INR-07 IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04  
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /089 W  
-----121440Z 012593 /41

P R 121328Z MAR 77  
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2031  
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY  
INFO USMISSION NATO  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USNMR SHAPE  
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0114

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PARM, NATO  
SUBJECT: MBFR: TABLING INDIVIDUAL MANPOWER TOTALS FOR  
WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS

1. THE SOVIETS HAVE NOW INFORMED US (MBFR VIENNA 0110,  
DTG 110953Z MAR 77) THAT THEY WILL BE PREPARED TO TABLE  
DATA ON SOVIET FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA ONLY IF THE  
WEST AGREES THAT BOTH SIDES SHOULD TABLE SEPARATE TOTALS FOR  
THE FORCES OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT IN THE REDUCTION AREA.

2. WE BELIEVE THE SOVIET POSITION IS A FIRM ONE AND  
WILL BE REPEATED IN THE MARCH 15 INFORMAL SESSION.

3. I CONSIDER THERE ARE A NUMBER OF REASONS WHY IT WOULD  
BE DESIRABLE FOR THE WEST TO AGREE AS PROMPTLY AS POSSIBLE  
TO TABLE SEPARATE TOTALS FOR WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

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THESE REASONS, WHICH I URGE BE DISCUSSED WITH THE UK AND FRG  
DELEGATIONS VISITING WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK, ARE:

(1) THE WEST NEEDS SEPARATE TOTALS FOR THE EASTERN  
DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

A. THE ALLIES HAVE AGREED THAT THE DISCUSSION OF COUNTING

RULES HAS REACHED A POINT WHERE THEY CAN MORE EFFECTIVELY CONTINUE THEIR SEARCH FOR THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN WESTERN AND EASTERN DATA ON THE WARSAW PACT FORCES ON THE BASIS OF MORE SPECIFIC FIGURES.

B. WESTERN INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES OF TOTAL WARSAW PACT MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE REDUCTION AREA ARE BUILT UP ON THE BASIS OF TOTALS FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY. THAT IS, WESTERN INTELLIGENCE ON WARSAW PACT FORCES IS ORGANIZED AND ANALYZED ON A NATIONAL BASIS. TO CHECK EASTERN STATEMENTS ABOUT DATA ON WARSAW PACT FORCES, WESTERN INTELLIGENCE EXPERTS MUST BE IN A POSITION TO CHECK THESE STATEMENTS AGAINST THEIR HOLDINGS OF DATA ON THE FORCES OF EACH WARSAW PACT DIRECT PARTICIPANT.

C. ONLY THROUGH TABLING OF TOTALS ON THE FORCES OF INDIVIDUAL EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL WE HAVE THE NECESSARY BASIS FOR SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ON ORDER OF BATTLE, TABLE OF ORGANIZATION AND MANNING LEVELS WHICH COULD BE THE KEY TO EXPLAINING DISCREPANCIES IN THE OVERALL TOTALS.

D. TABLING SEPARATE FIGURES FOR WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND THUS OBTAINING SEPARATE FIGURES FOR EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, WILL ENABLE WESTERN NEGOTIATORS TO IDENTIFY THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE DISCREPANCIES AMONG VARIOUS EASTERN NATIONAL FORCES AND AS BETWEEN AIR AND GROUND.

E. TABLING OF SEPARATE TOTALS FOR EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL ENABLE THE WEST TO FOCUS THE SEARCH FOR THE SECRET

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DISCREPANCIES ON SPECIFIC AREAS, SUCH AS THE POLISH TERRITORIAL FORCES.

F. THE EAST'S TABLING OF SEPARATE FIGURES FOR EASTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL TIE THE EAST DOWN TO A SPECIFIC ALLOCATION OF ITS OVERALL TOTAL AND MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR IT TO EVADE WESTERN QUESTIONS ON THE INCLUSION OR EXCLUSION OF SPECIFIC GROUPS OF PERSONNEL.

(2) TABLING SEPARATE WESTERN TOTALS IS NOT HARMFUL TO THE WESTERN APPROACH.

A. TABLING THESE FIGURES WOULD TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE DATA DISCUSSION, WHERE BOTH SIDES HAVE ALREADY STATED THAT DATA DISCUSSION IS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THEIR OVERALL PROGRAMS. A MORE SPECIFICALLY WORDED DISCLAIMER SUBSCRIBED TO BY BOTH SIDES IS FEASIBLE.

B. THE PARTICIPATING ALLIES HAVE IN ANY EVENT JUST RECENTLY

REAFFIRMED THEIR ADHERENCE WITHIN THE ALLIANCE TO THE COLLECTIVITY PRINCIPLE IN THE AD HOC GROUP'S REQUEST TO THE NAC TO TABLE US FIGURES.

C. IF ANYTHING, IT IS THE EAST, IN ADVANCING ITS FEBRUARY 1976 PROPOSAL THAT US AND SOVIET REDUCTION BE COMPUTED ON THE BASIS OF THE TOTAL MILITARY MANPOWER OF EACH SIDE, AND LATER TABLING DATA ON THAT TOTAL MILITARY MANPOWER, WHICH HAS PREJUDICED ITS POSITION AS REGARDS NATIONAL COMMITMENTS.

D. BUT WE THINK IT IS UNWISE FOR THE WEST ITSELF THROUGH ITS ACTIONS OR STATEMENTS TO ATTRIBUTE TO THE TABLING OF SEPARATE FIGURES OF THE MILITARY MANPOWER OF THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS A SIGNIFICANCE THIS ACTION DOES NOT INTRINSICALLY POSSESS.

E. NATIONAL TOTALS FOR THE MILITARY MANPOWER IN THE AREA  
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OF WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED AND ARE PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE IN THE WEST. THEIR TABLING WOULD NOT REVEAL ANY SECURITY INFORMATION

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PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /089 W  
-----121453Z 012637 /41

P R 121328Z MAR 77  
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2032  
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY  
INFO USMISSION NATO  
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FROM US REP MBFR

(3) WESTERN REFUSAL TO TABLE INDIVIDUAL TOTALS ON WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS COULD BE DAMAGING TO THE WEST.

A. THE FACT THAT WESTERN NATIONAL TOTALS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED WOULD MAKE IT HARD TO EXPLAIN TO PUBLIC OPINION WHY THE WEST IS REFUSING TO TABLE THEM.

B. SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE TARASOV HAS INDICATED THAT THE EAST MAY GO PUBLIC, POSSIBLY BEFORE THE END OF THE PRESENT ROUND, WITH THE CLAIM THAT IT IS WILLING TO TABLE SEPARATE TOTALS FOR DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

C. WITH ITS STATEMENT THAT IT IS WILLING TO BEGIN DISCUSSION OF TABLED NATIONAL FIGURES WITH A DISCUSSION OF US AND SOVIET DATA, THE EAST HAS ALREADY MET THE ONLY LOGICAL WESTERN COUNTER-ARGUMENT, NAMELY, THAT IT IS REASONABLE IN TERMS OF THE PROGRAMS OF BOTH SIDES TO BEGIN WITH A DETAILED DISCUSSION OF  
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US AND SOVIET FIGURES.

D. FOR THE WEST TO ARGUE THAT TABLING SEPARATE DATA ON DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD DAMAGE ITS POSITION WOULD BE TO PUBLICLY READ INTO THIS ACTION A SIGNIFICANCE IT DOES NOT POSSESS. THE WEST SHOULD TREAT THE TABLING OF SEPARATE DATA AS A NATURAL NEXT STEP IN THE DATA DISCUSSION AND AS UNRELATED TO THE PROGRAM OF EITHER SIDE.

E. WESTERN REFUSAL TO TABLE SEPARATE TOTALS FOR WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS COULD BLOCK FURTHER DATA DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST AND THE WESTERN EFFORT TO IDENTIFY THE SOURCES OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN DATA ON WARSAW PACT FORCES, LEAVING THE EASTERN CONTENTION THAT THERE IS APPROXIMATE PARITY BETWEEN THE MILITARY MANPOWER OF EAST AND WEST IN THE AREA WITHOUT EFFECTIVE CHALLENGE.

F. GIVEN THE CENTRAL IMPORTANCE OF MANPOWER REDUCTIONS IN THE VIENNA TALKS AND THE FACT THAT ANY LIMITATIONS AGREED TO WOULD HAVE TO BE EXPRESSED IN AGREED NUMBERS, AND IMPASSE IN THE DATA DISCUSSIONS IS LIKELY TO MEAN AN IMPASSE IN THE VIENNA TALKS AS SUCH. IF WESTERN GOVERNMENTS, NOW WISH TO GIVE A STRONGER PUSH TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, THIS IS NOT A SITUATION THEY SHOULD PERMIT TO ARISE.

G. A PROTRACTED EAST-WEST PROCEDURAL WRANGLE BASED ON WESTERN REFUSAL TO TABLE NATIONAL TOTALS WILL CREATE THE

PUBLIC IMPRESSION THAT THE WEST LACKS CONFIDENCE IN ITS DATA OR IS NOT SERIOUS ABOUT THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS.

(4) WE SEE NO REAL ALTERNATIVE TO THE TABLING OF SEPARATE TOTALS FOR WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

A. THEORETICALLY, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO SUGGEST THAT BOTH SIDES TABLE DATA BROEKN DOWN ACCORDING TO CERTAIN ACROSS-THE-BOARD FUNCTIONAL CATEGORIES WITHOUT REGARD TO NATIONALITY.

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HOWEVER, THIS IS NOT A WORKABLE APPROACH. SINCE WESTERN DATA ON BOTH WESTERN AND EASTERN FORCES IS ORGANIZED BY INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY, THIS PROCEDURE WOULD REQUIRE AN ENORMOUS INTERNAL NATO EFFORT TO ESTABLISH ACROSS-THE-BOARD CATEGORIES IN ITS DATA FOR BOTH NATO AND WARSAW PACT FORCES. THIS WOULD HAVE TO BE FOLLOWED BY AN EVEN MORE COMPLICATED EFFORT TO WORK OUT WITH THE EAST AGREED CATEGORIES WHICH COULD BE APPLIED TO BOTH FORCES OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT. AND, IN THE END, IN ORDER TO FIND THE SOURCES OF DISCREPANCIES IN THESE CATEGORIES, SUCH DATA WOULD HAVE TO BE TABLED ON A NATIONAL BASIS.

(5) AS REGARDS POSSIBLE SOVIET MOTIVATIONS FOR INSISTING ON TABLING OF SEPARATE TOTALS FOR ALL WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS:

A. THE MAIN MOTIVE IS PROBABLY TO BE IN A POSITION TO MAKE A BETTER CASE FOR THEIR OWN DATA, AND, IN PARTICULAR, TO PUSH THE CASE THAT THEIR UNITS ARE NOT AT AUTHORIZED STRENGTH.

B. A SECOND CLEAR REASON IS ONE OF NATIONAL PRESTIGE, EXPRESSED QUITE FLATLY BY SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE TARASOV: THE SOVIETS DO NOT INTEND TO HAVE OTHER WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPNATS SIT IN JUDGMENT ON THEIR DATA AND QUESTION THAT DATA WHEN THESE PARTICIPANTS HAVE NOT TABLED DATA ON THEIR OWN.

C. IN GENERAL, HOWEVER, WE THINK SPECULATION AS TO SOVIET MOTIVATION IN PROPOSING THIS MOVE IS NOT PRODUCTIVE. AS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS, WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT IS NOT POSSIBLE EASTERN MOTIVES, BUT THE WESTERN CAPACITY TO TAKE ACTIONS WHICH ADEQUATELY PROTECT AND ADVANCE WESTERN INTERESTS, REGARDLESS OF WHATEVER EASTERN MOTIVIES MAY BE. RESOR

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